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ABSTRACT

A 1973 evaluation of the Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP) showed that it was effective in improving the academic achievement of tenth grade black male students. This study further analyzes this important result with the aim of finding useful information for the operation of the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) which replaced ESAP. Several different approaches to estimate the existence and size of tenth grade black male achievement ESAP effect are utilized. These estimates consistently agree with the direction of the original analysis but consistently show a smaller effect, although not so much lower as to place the effect in a different league. The two analyses agree that the size of the effect is not large but is worth pursuing. The secondary analysis of ESAP high school data also indicates the effectiveness of teacher race relations training programs and student intergroup relations programs, with student impact primarily upon whites and none upon black males. No convincing explanation of how ESAP improves black male achievement is found. There are suggestions of positive effects of ESAP for white males and mixed efforts for both black and white females. There are no apparent new conclusions leading to suggested changes in federal school desegregation aid programs. (Author/AM)

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# SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

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## SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

### PURPOSE

The Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP) provided assistance in the early 1970's to school districts undergoing desegregation by supporting a variety of activities "designed to achieve successful desegregation and the elimination of all forms of discrimination in the schools on the basis of race, color, religion and national origin." ESAP grants were concentrated in the southern States where extensive school desegregation was or recently had taken place. In 1972, the Emergency School Aid Act (ESA) replaced ESAP. While nationwide in scope and including more activities than ESAP, the largest component of the new Act--ESA Basic Grants--is very similar to ESAP.

The original evaluation (NORC, 1973) showed that ESAP was effective in improving the academic achievement of tenth grade black male students. The National Advisory Council on Equality of Educational Opportunity asked the Office of Education to pursue this important result with the aim of finding any useful information for the operation of ESA, which the Council monitors. This further analysis of the evaluation data was conducted under contract by the Office of Education to The Rand Corporation.

### METHODOLOGY

The data consist of interviews, questionnaires, and student achievement tests administered in a random sample of about 600 elementary and high schools (fifth and tenth grade students) in 103 southern school districts receiving ESAP grants in the 1971-72 school year. The evaluation was designed on an experimental basis, with matched pairs of schools randomly selected, one selected at random to receive ESAP funds and the other to be a control school not to receive ESAP funds. This design provided a strong test of the program impact by comparing the ESAP and control schools. This test revealed the tenth grade black male achievement effect and led to the decision to limit the secondary analysis to the 48 districts in the sample with high schools. Thus, all references to schools or students below refer to high schools. A variety of statistical techniques was used, with the emphasis on methods that would be exploratory in nature to reflect the aim of searching for clues, not clear-cut certainties, about the existence and causes of program success.

### FINDINGS

Several different approaches to estimating the existence and size of the tenth grade black male achievement ESAP effect were undertaken.

These estimates consistently agree with the direction of the original analysis (black males scoring higher in ESAP than in control high schools) but consistently show a smaller effect although not so much lower as to place the effect in a different league. The two analyses agree that the size of the effect is not large but is worth pursuing. These analyses are highly technical and are reported in detail in a separate Rand Working Note.

The major findings, which are suggested by the study but should not be considered as strongly conclusive, are:

(1) Cause of Black Male Achievement Gains

- The original analysis speculated that ESAP raised the achievement of black male high school students by improving the racial climate in the school. Black males then felt more at ease in the ESAP schools and this led to improved achievement. The results of the secondary analysis do not support this explanation. The new analysis examines a large number of non-cognitive variables and shows virtually no differences between black males in ESAP and control schools.

- However, the new analysis shows that white males in ESAP high schools have more favorable racial attitudes and more interracial contact than white males in control schools. More detailed analyses offer only hints but it is possible that there was an indirect effect in which ESAP improved white male attitudes which in turn helped improve black male achievement. This explanation is consistent with the original report which found that in substantially white schools (over 40 percent white), black achievement was higher in schools with more favorable white student racial attitudes.

(2) Teacher Race Relations Training Programs

- Teacher race relations training programs were newly examined for effectiveness with teachers. The results are encouraging, suggesting that this specialized training (not other kinds of teacher training) improves both teacher racial attitudes and reported behavior.

- The secondary analysis confirms the original report on the effectiveness of teacher race relations training programs in changing white high school students as well as their teachers. Effectiveness is measured in terms of a number of non-cognitive student variables related to race relations (such as student preference for a racially mixed school, student having called a student of the other race on the phone, and student perception of teachers as liking school desegregation). These programs

appear effective for both white females and males, but have no impact on blacks of either sex.

(3) Student Intergroup Relations Programs

. The secondary analysis confirms the original report on the effectiveness of student intergroup relations programs for white high school students. Effectiveness is measured using the same student variables illustrated in the previous section. These programs appear effective for white high school students of both sexes and for black females, but have no impact on black males.

HINTS

The above findings are presented as those best supported but still not strongly conclusive. Weaker findings are presented below that emerged from this exploratory analysis. Those concerned with operating or evaluating desegregation programs should be aware of these hints.

(4) Minority History and Culture Programs

. The secondary analysis shows some signs that minority history and culture programs may be effective in improving teacher racial attitudes and reported behavior. There is also some evidence that these programs may be associated with improved interracial contact among all categories of high school students except black males. This weak finding should be treated with particular caution because it is not at all consistent with the original analysis.

(5) Overall ESAP Effects

. There is evidence that ESAP and control high schools were similar in terms of a wide range of teacher and principal characteristics. However, there is some evidence that ESAP made schools more harmonious places.

. One analysis compared extreme cases--pairs of schools where the ESAP school had much higher achievement than the matched control were contrasted with schools where the reverse was true. On one measure the effective ESAP schools had a larger number of ESAP activities, providing one explanation that a variety of funded activities may improve achievement.

. No complete link can be drawn for any race and sex subgroup between (1) exposure to either of the above two programs (teacher producing changes in non-cognitive areas, and (2) those changes being in turn associated with improved achievement for that subgroup. This model could not explain the black male ESAP effect in any case since neither of these programs demonstrated effectiveness for black males in the non-cognitive measures used.

(6) More on ESAP and Female Students

- There is evidence that ESAP improved some non-cognitive outcomes related to feelings about school for black females. However, these same variables (she feels she belongs in the school, she likes school, she found homework interesting) are associated with lower achievement. This supports--although more strongly than most examples--a general principle in desegregation and other educational evaluations. Desirable outcomes of schooling do not always come together; schools may have to make a choice of what kinds of outcomes are of highest priority.

- The effect of ESAP on white females is more mixed, but in one area--perceived attitudes of teachers and principals toward desegregation and minorities--white females in ESAP schools did worse than their counterparts in control schools. White females reported principals less favorable to desegregation, more teacher unfairness to whites, and more complaints of favoritism by both black and white students in ESAP schools than in control schools. This finding was not examined in detail for an explanation.

(7) Allocation of ESAP Activities to Schools

- There is some evidence that schools received services under ESAP that were not tailored to their needs. With one exception there were no strong relationships between school characteristics (such as racial composition and amount of racial tension the previous school year) and types of ESAP activities in the school. The exception is that more recently desegregated schools were more likely to have inservice teacher training programs dealing with race relations.

(8) Self-Image and Black Achievement

- There is some evidence that academic self-image (whether student thinks race is linked to intelligence and whether the black student thinks other blacks are smart) may be especially important for black students. Unfortunately, ESAP does not seem to have changed black student attitudes in these key areas of academic self-image.

(9) Racial Change and School Disturbances

- Without regard to ESAP, schools were pooled to see if there was any relationship between the length of time since desegregation produced the major change in the school racial composition and several measures of school disturbance or harmony. The effects were small but consistent: schools seem to have a delayed reaction, often experiencing somewhat

more difficulty the year after major changes than either the same year as the change or later years. Since most schools in the sample reported the major change to be in the current or previous two school years, longer term effects could not be studied.

In summary, the secondary analysis of ESAP high school data indicated effectiveness of teacher race relations training programs and student intergroup relations programs, with student impacts primarily upon whites and none upon black males. No convincing explanation of how ESAP improved black male achievement was found. There are suggestions of positive effects of ESAP for white males and mixed effects for both black and white females. There are no apparent new conclusions leading to suggested changes in federal school desegregation aid programs.

Secondary analysis:

Henry Acland, Secondary Analysis of the Emergency School Assistance Program, Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation, 1975.

Original analysis:

Robert L. Crain and others, Southern Schools: An Evaluation of the Emergency School Assistance Program and of School Desegregation, 2 volumes, Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 1973.